

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

1844-54. tells the tale and says the entire bratstvo was extinct. The fishermen on the lake had to pay the vladika yearly a barrel of fish for fishing rights. No barrel arrived. They were asked why, and wickedly replied that they had not been able to catch any fish. The vladika was patient. Still no fish arrived. The fishermen then explained: "There are now no fish in the lake." "No," said the vladika firmly, "*there are none and there will be none.*"

To everyone's horror the lake was fishless. The fishermen hurried to the vladika and prayed him to withdraw his curse. He kindly did so—and the fish reappeared.

This mighty prelate was canonized by the Montenegrin Church shortly after his death, and is the revered St. Petar Cetinski.

His curses, however, pale before that laid on the Greek statesman Venizelos in 1916. I give it to show what the Orthodox Church is capable of when roused, and the present belief in the curse in the Near East. Venizelos was denounced for having "betrayed the nation to the Anglo-French." "Therefore against the traitor Venizelos we have invoked the following injuries: the ulcers of Job, the whale of Jonah, the leprosy of Naaman, the bite of Death, the shuddering of the dying, the thunderbolt of Hell, and the malediction of God and man. We shall call for the same injuries upon those who, at the forthcoming elections, shall vote for the traitor Venizelos, and further pray for their hands to wither and for them to become deaf and blind. Amen."

Curse-pits were dug, and crowds, filing by, put their curses upon stones and hurled them into the pits.

True, the ecclesiastics who laid the curse got into trouble. But they had, in fact, but expressed—flamboyantly—the feelings of the people. Venizelos, having once fallen, has never returned to power. The peasant has little faith in elections—he has every reason to doubt their efficacy; but of the efficacy of a real good curse he has ample evidence.

In Albania a curse may lie for generations on a family and end it. I visited the house of a family group at Plani in Pulati. The curse was that the family should not multiply, and I was assured it was dying out. No one knew who had laid the curse and all attempts to remove it had failed. Eighteen persons were living crowded in its one room. In cases of this kind it is obvious that unwholesome surroundings, bad water, or inherited disease is the origin of the "curse." To those so "cursed," however, the thing is a mystery, and mysterious means are the only ones used to combat it.

All medicine begins as magic. The invention of the microscope has at last revealed many of the real "demons." But even in England there are still people who prefer quack remedies to scientific "demon"-slaying ones.

Montenegrius EF5

Serbs EF6

Bulgaria EE1

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

began and I was propitiated on all sides. It was the thing to ask me into the nearest house and stuff me with food, and for days my hotel bills were almost nil. But that was in the days of the Obrenovitch, when the Karageorgevitches had been exiled for ever and ever for having murdered Prince Michael. They now reign over wide lands for having murdered the Archduke Ferdinand. S
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We, too, have a stranger craze. We still hedge the stranger with difficulties until, or unless, we think fit to feast him at the Guildhall, hoping earnestly that by thus feeding the beast we may induce him to work magic in our favour with tariffs or arm his compatriots on our behalf.

2. THE NAME TABOO

Among many primitive races all the world over a man's name is part of himself. Just as spells to hurt a man may be wrought by means of bits of his hair or nails, so, too, can evil be worked by using his name. The name is, therefore, a thing to be carefully guarded. Thus is the name taboo explained by authorities on the subject. A
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The taboo is common in the Balkans. In 1904, among the Bulgars of Macedonia, I had to classify long lists of refugees. Woman after woman would give her name as "Maria," and refuse, with tears running down her cheeks, to give her husband's name, or any clue to her identity, save perhaps the name of her father in a distant village. "They are ashamed. You must not ask such a thing," I was told. I had asked an indecent question and hurt their feelings. "Ask another woman." The Maria in question would hurry from the room, while I learnt from a woman of the same village that the husband's name was Dmitri, son of George. This constantly happened when I have dealt with Bulgar and Albanian refugees. The explanation always is that they are "modest." A
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In Montenegro the custom was nearly dead—but not quite. Old folk still thought it improper for man and wife to name each other. The schoolmaster at Tzrmnitza told me that there were still many who had never done so. Savo Vuletitch, himself a Montenegrin, in one of his admirable tales of Montenegro, tells how "Petar Radisitch, though he had lived on the best of terms with his wife for full twenty years, had never called her by her name, nor even spoken to her as a human being, on any subject, if it were possible for a stranger to overhear. Had he to speak to her in public he muttered through his teeth, and she did the same by him. To have done otherwise would have been shameful." M
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A plan I found adopted was that the man gave his order in the

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[186] male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

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561 I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

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[121] Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

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774 Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from danger.

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777 "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

292 Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

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777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

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764 the body was laid in it, in order to prevent any devil lurking there to seize the dead.

I remember waiting by the tiny grave dug for a child at Thethi Shala in the graveyard. Someone tripped over the long protruding handle of the shovel and dislodged it. The old gravedigger dashed forward and replaced it at once, and drew it out only as the little corpse was lowered. The Franciscan, an Albanian, who stood by the graveside, acquiesced. "It is the custom," he said when questioned. Possibly, like the rest of us, he could not keep demons at bay unaided.

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776 Iron keeps off all spirits, good and bad, it appears; for no knife must
777 touch the fowl's breast-bone or sheep's blade-bone in which the
778 Albanian and Montenegrin soothsayers read the future. No one can
tell you why; but everyone knows it would be the height of folly to try to read a bone that has been cleaned with a knife—it would not tell the truth.

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726 Colonel Aubrey Herbert, that friend of the Turks and Albanians, whose untimely death has left an unfillable gap, gave me a curious instance of the belief in the magic of iron. During the Balkan war of 1913 the Turkish general, Djavid Pasha, retreated with what was left of his army into South Albania, where "he occupied the house of a friend of mine. The tide of war was running fiercely against the Turks and the general wanted to consult the spirits. The family carpenter was ordered to make a three-legged table without any nails in it—
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778 'for the spirits hate metal,' said Djavid. The young Turks invoked the
775 spirit of Nazim Pasha, who had been shot by Enver and his friends. . . . When no answer came, the absent ghost of Nazim was cursed for refusing to give information."

Even the absence of iron could not induce the spirit of the murdered man to advise his murderers.

6. HAIR. SOME BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH IT

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721 In many lands much mystery surrounds hair, that strange substance that grows continually from youth to age; which is part of the person, but can be cut off without pain and is, therefore, the most convenient substitute or symbol for the whole person.

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754 By means of hair spells can be wrought even in an electric-lighted European capital. Draga Mashin, the mistress of the luckless young King Alexander Obrenovitch, forced him to marry her and make her queen by clipping some of her hair in little bits and mixing it with appropriate spells in his food. Having thus eaten a portion of her, he was hopelessly in her power. At least, so we were assured by one of

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the Serbian *intelligentsia*, formerly Minister at the Court of St. James's. Possibly the belief that Draga dabbled in witchcraft was one reason why the populace cheerfully acquiesced in her murder. Near-Eastern politics are more often swayed by old-world beliefs than some folk are aware of.

By chance one night in Krsto's hut I learnt that the ancient rite of dedication by hair is part of the Orthodox baptismal ceremony. I was showing my folding pair of nail-scissors when Pope Gjuro exclaimed in admiration that they were just the thing for clipping hair at baptisms. Old Gjuro himself, of course, wore a beard, and his unclipped locks flowed on his shoulders. Hair, as we have seen, can be used to work grievous harm. "The simplest way of avoiding this peril," says Sir James George Frazer, "is not to cut the hair at all." Samson's strength lay in his hair. Kings, medicine-men, and others who were very holy, have gone unshorn, and so to this day do the priests of the Orthodox Church, the direct descendants of the priests of pre-Christian cults. Firmicus (Julius Maternus) wrote the *Errors of Religion* about A.D. 350, and described "men who stay in temples in an unkempt state, and walk abroad thus and never cut their hair, and who would announce something to men as if said by gods." Firmicus was a Sicilian and had, doubtless, been taught by Rome, for he did not connect holiness with hairiness as did Byzantium.

One of the many bitter complaints brought against the Church of Rome by Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Byzantium (1043-58), was that Latin clerks shave the beard. So abhorrent did this practice seem to the Byzantine that he refused the Communion to shaven clerks. Thus a deep-rooted belief in the magic power of hair was one of the several odd reasons which helped to split the Church and ultimately affect the fate of Europe.

Rome, not given to haggling over unimportant details, did not and does not object to moustachioed and bearded priests should local custom prefer them. The Orthodox Church makes no exceptions. In the more civilized lands the Orthodox pope now likes to twist his locks into a "bun" pinned up under his high hat when he is not officiating. But up-country I have seen strange popes whose tangled black locks streamed in the wind, and whose faces were muffled to the eyes in beard that had never been profaned by steel: wild men of the mountains with knife and revolver in belt.

Hair-cutting as a dedication of the person is an old Balkan rite. Daremburg and Saglio, in the *Dictionnaire d'Antiquités*, figure a marble slab found in Thessaly, on which are carved two neat pigtails, "offered to Poseidon by the sons of Dumachos," says the inscription. In a storm hair would thus be cut off and thrown overboard with the hope that

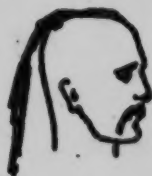
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852 is shorn of four locks, but after becoming a holy man he goes unshorn. The most wonderful I met was a young monk at Zdrebanik Monastery, Montenegro, whose well-combed flaxen hair fell to below his waist. His beard was equally fine. I remember, too, two "kalugers" whom we met on the Nikahitch road. They carried begging bowls and offered holy pictures for sale. They spoke no tongue anyone could understand, but their immense coal-black manes and beards showed them, as Krsto remarked, to be undoubtedly exceptionally holy.

S Hair is also offered, as we have seen in the chapter on funerals, 782 on graves. In Bosnia and the Herzegovina I saw tresses of hair hung 764 along with rags, oranges, bread, etc., on the young tree or branch stuck at the head of most graves. In a lonely graveyard between Gorazhda and Chajnitza (1906) I saw what must have been some



PRAYING BOSNIAN CATHOLIC,
JAITZA, 1907



SKETCH SHOWING THE
PIGTAIL (PERCHIN)

FIG. 31

mourning woman's whole head of hair, waving and bleaching in the sun and wind from the head-post of a grave. Here the hair seems part of a purificatory rite.

A 121 The Eastern belief in the magic of hair is shown in the book of Numbers vi. *et seq.*: "When a man or woman shall make a special vow to separate himself unto the Lord . . . all the days of his separation there shall no razor come upon his head . . . he shall be holy, he shall let the locks of his hair grow long. . . . All the days that he separateth himself unto the Lord he shall not come near to a dead body. . . . And if any man die very suddenly beside him and he defile the head of his separation, then he shall shave his head in the day of his cleansing. On the seventh day shall he shave it." St. Paul (Acts xxi. 26) observed this ceremony.

S M 302 In Bosnia, Serbia, and Montenegro, till very recently, most men

Preface

121 There are some people today who contend that a detailed history of a country is too lengthy, too tedious and too statistical to hold the interest of the reader whose object is to gain a broad and not - too - complicated outline of a nation's history. Therefore, within these pages it has been the author's sincere endeavour to write the history of the Kingdom of Albania in such a manner as to include not only the major events but also the steps which were influential in their making. In this way the highlights in Albania's history have been chronicled in a brief, but not minimized aspect. Thus it is to be hoped that the reader will gain a clear and and coherent view into a unique nation which is of great interest as well as importance to the world, not only because of its strategic position but also on account of all that Albania has to offer of worldly goods, as there are few who know the intimate details of its making. While this book is full of

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precise historical data, condensed as much as possible, the author, prompted by a desire to present a clear and true picture, has also written of the country and the people and their distinctive customs.

In addition to the historical information herein contained, the author has given personal impressions of the country: the originality of the people, the vivid and wild beauty of the mountainous regions, the peacefulness of the countryside emphasized by waving fields of green, the memorially historical spots, marked with ruins, where history has been made in the ceaseless flow of time, the progressive spirit of the towns, the advantages of location and many such intimate bits of information that will add interest and charm for the reader who finds great advantage in striding through strange and fascinating lands in seven-league boots!

THE AUTHOR

October 1, 1936.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000 author will attempt to set forth.

It is a strange paradox, therefore, that this nation should have been the veritable greed of other nations of Europe. It is most unfortunate, indeed, that their history, their customs, and their traditions should have been lost to the world in the din of battle and the spilling of blood. Even now, when a unified Albania—under a most able leader, His Majesty Zog I, King of the Albanians—strives for their well-deserved glorious future, the forces of viciousness are going about and maintaining veritable propaganda of malicious untruths concerning the Kingdom of Albania.

121 The purpose of the present work is to give a clear, complete and truthful outline of Albania's ancient and modern history, present-day conditions, climatic facts, roads, mountains, thermal and health springs, educational work, cities, industry, tourism and allied subjects. In a word, all information that could possibly be of interest to the historian, the archaeologist, the tourist, the businessman and those who read for the purpose of learning more about all corners of the earth.

CHAPTER VIII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS.

- 121 As the character of a people is generally so much influenced by the nature of the country they inhabit, a brief description of the division of Turkey occupied by the Albanians may give greater interest to my
- 101 remarks on this race. Albania, as its native name of *Skiperi*, "The Land of Rocks," signifies, is one of the most mountainous divisions of Turkey. The principal
- 133 chain runs north and south, parallel with the Adriatic, and from it jut many spurs, composed of mountains as lofty as the main range, which ramify in every direction, so that almost the whole surface of the country is covered with rugged hills and deep valleys, save near the mouth of the river Ergenth. Even the coast is grandly mountainous, the spurs there often terminating in abrupt precipices, the sides of which are eternally beaten by the lashing waves.
- 132 Almost every variety of climate is found within the limits of Albania. In the south, and near the coast, the temperature is as mild as at Naples, and oranges, citrons, grapes, pomegranates, figs, and other fruits grow in abundance. But the cold increases with the distance from the sea, and only twenty
- [137] miles from the Adriatic the snowfalls are heavy, and the frosts severe. The higher and more northern

She then takes hold of the flower with both hands ⁵³⁹ and lays her head upon it.

Almost every Albanian tribe has a more or less ¹⁷³ mythical tradition of its origin, which is generally traced to some single ancestor. Of these I have already mentioned two, the legends of the Miridite clans of the Clementi and the Castrati. Another tradition, however, traces the descent of the entire tribe of the Miridites from one man, who, like the favourite hero of fairy tales generally, was the youngest of three sons. His father, according to the story, lived on Mount Pastrik, near Diakova, and at his death the three brothers divided their poor inheritance, the eldest taking the saddle (*Shalla*), the second the sieve (*Shosh*), the third receiving only the salutation of "Good-day" (*Mir dia*). As is, however, always the case in such stories, the prosperity of the portionless one greatly excelled that of his brothers. For while they became the founders of the clans called Shialla and Shoshi, in remembrance of the saddle and sieve they had respectively inherited, he who had been dismissed with an ironical salutation bequeathed it as a name to a far more numerous and powerful tribe, the *Miridites*.

Out of so many charming folk-tales it is a difficult ¹¹⁴ matter to choose the best or most characteristically ⁵³⁸ Albanian. I have, however, limited myself to those ^[12] of which the originals are available, in order to obtain the precise names of the Supernals described in them, many of whom are disguised by their French translator under the name of *Lamis*, and by Von Hahn under the Teutonic *Elfe* or *Kobold*. As mentioned in

INTRODUCTION

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I WOULD not have this book considered too seriously. It is not an attempt to untangle one thread in the Balkan snarl; it is not a study of primitive peoples; it is not a contribution to the world's knowledge, and I hope no one will read it to improve the mind. It should be read as the adventures in it were lived, with a gayly inquiring mind, a taste for strange peoples and unknown trails, and a delight in the unexpected.

Here I give you only what I saw, felt, and most casually learned while adventuring among the tribes in the interior northern Albanian mountains. It is not even all of Albania, that little country too small to be found on every map. It is simply a fragment of this large, various, and romantic world, sent back by a traveler to those who stay at home.

R. W. L.

124 mountain men who had come down to the cities; we went into the mountains and measured them in their homes.

- 121 Beside the anthropometric data itself we have taken some trouble to describe and discuss the natural and social environments in which our subjects lived. This material is as essential for our study as the measurements and observations on the men themselves. It not only describes the physico-chemical influences that bear on the growing organisms, but also designates their systems of mating, which are of prime importance to anyone interested in genetic problems. Furthermore, and as we shall see this is also of primary importance, it reveals the culturally controlled mechanical influences which literally "shape our ends"; the techniques of cradling babies while their heads are still plastic, and which the Albanian mountaineers, like other peoples in southeastern Europe and western Asia, employ.

In the following chapters we shall not attempt to cover every detail of Gheg civilization. This is not a work of ethnography, but one of somatology. We are interested in the main outline of the culture as a whole and only in those details that bear specifically on our problem: who are the Ghegs and how did they acquire their present anatomical characteristics?

- ooo One further act of definition is necessary: to place our sample on the scale of time. In describing any culture, the ethnographer must

¹ Chapple and Coon, 1942, front end paper.

000 set his scene at some specific point in time. All cultures change, either in complexity or merely in detail, and even those which move the most slowly vary enough in a few years to make this step necessary. Such a specific time locus is called the "ethnographic present."⁷

121 For the purposes of this study the ethnographic present should be the time between the date at which the majority of our anthropometric subjects were conceived and that at which they had reached adult physical form. Thus both heredity and environment will be given due attention. The 1063 men in our series ranged from 18 years of age to senility, with the great majority between 25 and 49. The mean was 39.4 years. We did our measuring in 1929-30. The mean date of birth was thus 1890, with a range of from 1860 or earlier to 1911. If we add 20 years for the maturation process the range rises from about 1880 to the date of measuring, with its mean at 1910.

[124] Our ethnographic present is therefore a time band 2 decades wide, concentrated in the period 1890-1910. At this time the mountain tribal areas of Ghegania formed, like the rest of Albania, part of the Turkish Empire, and the heroic age of family feuds and intertribal warfare was in full swing. In the cultural descriptions given in chapter 3 on "Technology and Occupation" through 6, "Ritual Life,"¹ the reader must remember that unless otherwise specified we have reference only to this epic age.

¹[see cat, II, 6, pp. 12-386 --Analyst]

LAND OF THE HIGHLAND GHEGS

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THE people who form the object of this study are the mountaineers who inhabit the Dinaric mountain chain on either side of the gorge cut by the river Drin on its way from the Serbian plain to the Adriatic. Most of their country lies inside the political boundaries of Albania, but parts of it have belonged to Yugoslavia for the past third of a century. They speak the northern of the 2 Albanian languages, or dialects,¹ Gheg. They are not, however, the only Gheg speakers. There are Lowland as well as Highland Ghegs. The present study concerns only the latter. The reason why they were specially chosen is that they still preserved, in 1929, a full tribal system of social organization, something very rare in Europe. This has one critical advantage: rules of preferential mating are definite, and are still observed. We know not only who marries whom, but we may also be sure that the same system has been going on for many generations. For a study of human genetics this material has obvious advantages.

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The Highland Ghegs who form the object of our investigation belonged to 10 tribes, shown on figure 1. These are Malsia e Madhe, Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, Has, Luma, Puka, Mirdita, Zadrima, Mati, and Dibra. Before 1913 all of the tribes, except Dukagin, which now touch Yugoslavia extended a certain distance into the present territory of that country. On parts of the northern border the overlap is an old one. Many of the Montenegrins admit descent from Albanian families, and one finds every stage of linguistic and cultural assimilation between the 2 ethnic units. Just north of Scutari, however, several fully Albanian villages were handed over to Serbia after the Balkan War, and this caused both economic and political distress. Farther east, from Peia to Dibra, the boundary commission which laid out the border between the 2 countries at that time gave the Yugoslavs all of the strategic positions, and all of the market

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¹ Gheg and Tosk in extreme dialectic forms are mutually incomprehensible. It would be hard to state definitely whether they are closely related languages or dialects of one language. Each has numerous local

¹ [see cont. p. 116, p. 6 -- Analyst]

² [cont. p. 7c -- Analyst]

- 121 **H**ABERLANDT, Baron Nopcsa, and others have written learnedly and in detail about the material culture of the Gheg mountaineers.¹ It is not my intention to duplicate their work. What I have to say about technology in this place is written for one purpose only, to elucidate the problem of human genetics in northern Albania. First of all, we shall examine the anthropometric series itself, since that is the source of our information on the Gheg phenotype (fig. 12).² The measurement blanks contain, besides the anthropometric and observational constants, the following information for each subject: serial number, sex, date, place measured, age, tribe, *bairak*, father's group, mother's group, number of wives belonging to father, number of children of each sex per wife, occupation, office or rank, religion, kinship with other members of series, and photographic reel and frame number.

- 124 We measured 1102 persons. Of these, 1058 were tribesmen both of whose parents had come from the same tribe as the subject. Eleven resulted from intertribal marriages. Thirty-three others remain to be accounted for. Nine were sons of Has fathers and Podrima mothers, 4 were Podrima men. These 13 were living in Has tribal territory, on the Yugoslav side of the border. Podrima is one of the Albanian tribes situated on the plain of Kossovo, wholly in Yugoslav territory. No

¹ [see cat. 121, p. 11 d -- Analyst]

² [see cat. 116, p. 112 -- Analyst]

8: Coon

E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950

EGl Albania EGl
Highland Ghegs124
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	TOTAL	EXTR.	PROC.	SERV.	TRANS.	TRADE	POL.	REL.
MeM	105	101		1		2	1	
Duk	106	103					3	
MeJ	104	87		2	1	7	7	
Has	114	102	11					1
Lum	109	79		1		2	25	2
Puk	102	87		3		1	11	
Mir	101	89	4	1		1	6	
Zad	105	104					1	
Mst	104	80	2	2			20	
Dib	108	75	7		3	11	9	3
Others	44	23	7	2		7	4	1
	1102	930	31	12	4	31	87	7

[121] ¹ Haberlandt, 1917; Nopcsa, 1925; Start, 1939;
Traeger, 1904. $\frac{1}{2}$

$\frac{1}{2}$ [pertains to text, cat. 116, p. 11 b - Analyst]

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HISTORY is the lifeblood of ethnography, and historians the physiologists of societies. The ethnographer's task is to describe a culture, telling where a given people live, how numerous they are, what technological means they employ to make their adjustments to the landscape, how their families are organized, what other institutions have arisen among them, for trade, for government, for foreign relations, and for the satisfaction of their ritual needs. Although his work is selective, that of the historian must be more so, for the historian is concerned with the motion of societies through time. He must select only those facts which are pertinent to his problem.

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In this case our problem is to find out all we can about the origin of the Gheg people, their genetic continuity within their mountain stronghold, and the times, places of origin, and physical characteristics of any outsiders who may have breached it. Since there is, as biologists well know, a selection in migration, we would like to know when and to what extent immigrants have left this country.

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These plans can only be partly consummated. History is particularly silent about refuge areas. The geographical factors which have sealed tribal Ghegania off from the main stream of human migrations and cultural evolution have also hidden it from the eyes of chroniclers, hampering as well the work of archaeologists. Actually we know nothing about its history before the Iron Age.

Only one man, the Freiherr von Richtofen,¹ claims to have found any evidence of Pleistocene occupancy in Albania. He discovered 2 fragments of worked flint directly under a modern road bed at Mali Dajti just outside Tirana. There is no reason to believe that they were not gunflints. Pittard, in a cave near

¹ Richtofen, 1939, pp. 151-52.

² Pittard, 1921, pp. 271-74.

³ Vulpe, 1932, pp. 132-45.

⁴ Menghin, 1919-20, pp. 197-202; Nopcsa, 1910, pp. [31]-[32]; Ugolini, 1927, pp. 181-88.

⁵ Dr. Robert Ehrich, who has carefully examined

000 WHEN the earlier version of this report was written it followed the then usual scheme of dealing first with measurements of the body, then indices derived from the same, then with measurements and indices of the head and face, and finally with observations. It followed the order of the measurement blank, which had been made up for speed and convenience in measuring. Speed and convenience in measuring are important in the field, but in the statistical laboratory their utility ceases. The criteria measured and observed exist only to give us evidence by means of which problems may be solved. The order of subjects to be explored, therefore, should be patterned on problems, rather than on classes of criteria.

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The chief problem of the present study is: *What is the racial position of these Mountain Ghegs, whose environment we have described and whose cultural history we have traced?*

The study of race is a study of one department of heredity, or genetics, subject to certain controls. These controls are breeding habits, sex, age changes, function, and environment. We have already explored the breeding habits of the population exemplified by our statistical sample. We know in large measure whence came the ancestors of these people, and at what times, and how these mountaineers have regulated their matings from the time of their arrival to the present. As human populations go this material is well documented.

A gene is best described as a capacity for performance. The extent to which this capacity is reached in the organism is a function of a number of factors. One is sex. This means simply one should not include both males and females in the same series. Differences between males and females in anatomical and physical characters may be racial. In the present sample we had to forego the measurement of females for reasons of expediency. Another is age. The organism changes throughout life; the body grows from birth

000 Washburn has shown¹ that the size and shape of some anatomical characters are dependent on use. By removing one jaw muscle of rats, he observed that the bony structure changes asymmetrically in response. Many of our anatomical characters which most physical anthropologists have long considered purely racial in the genetic sense are in fact subject to functional limitations. This may be seen mostly clearly in the jaws and teeth, since one of the most varied of human anatomical functions is *eating*. Variations in eating habits are environmental (in terms of available food-stuffs) and cultural (in terms of bringing exotic foods from other regions and of food preparation in general). Although one may separate environment from culture for other purposes, from the standpoint of what they do to the body, they are one.

The term *capacity for performance* implies function, primarily, and anatomy, in a derivative sense. Our present data are almost wholly anatomical. It would be far more satisfactory to have data on a balanced combination of both functional and anatomical characters—representing motion and the product of motion. More recently collected samples from other areas include extensive data on the different kinds of blood groups: the O, A, B, AB sequence (the only one known at the time of my investigation); the many subdivisions of A: the *m. n. mn* series, with subdivisions; the rhesus group, and others which are being studied momentarily. As these categories increase, blood grouping becomes increasingly useful. Unfortunately this present study will have to do without it. I did not take blood samples for the O, A, B, AB series because the Mountain Ghegs attach much ritual significance to blood-letting, even in small quantities. Had I tried to take a little of theirs, they might have drained off much of mine. The risk of losing the entire series, and my life as well, did not seem to justify such an attempt.

Although anatomical characters may be derivative, they are also selective, and this introduces our fourth factor, *the environment*. It is our anatomy which we expose to the rigors of the environment and which therefore

¹ Washburn, 1947.

000 qualifies our capacities to function. Since these functions are subject to selection, so is anatomy, and anatomy may be the deciding factor. For example, resistance to disease is functional and in large measure hereditary.² A specific disease, tuberculosis, has greater success in long narrow lungs than in more nearly globular ones. Long narrow lungs are found in long narrow bodies, and more globular lungs in more globular bodies. In regions where exposure to tuberculosis is critical, there will be a selection for stockier, deeper chested body types. Over the million years or more of man's existence as a two-legged, talking, fire-using primate, he has been exposed to enough selective forces to account for all the anatomical change visible in human races as they exist today. Anatomy is an end product, resulting from the effect of outside forces on body functions; but the anatomy itself qualifies function, and hence it plays an active as well as a passive role. The current fashion of slighting anatomy in the study of race is shortsighted.

• 121 In our series there are 2 principal ways that environment can affect anatomy. One is through nutrition. As we have seen, the Gheg mountaineer lives on the produce of the soil in his immediate neighborhood, and these soils vary. Hence we have an excellent chance to study the effect of differential nutrition on anatomy in segments of a genetically related population. Another is through cultural habits, in particular the habit of cradling infants. This in turn may be qualified by differences of nutrition. Here we are at the heart of the Dinaric problem, the question to which this study is devoted.

Once we have taken into account and quantitatively evaluated the various results of age, function, and environment, we are left with a number of qualified anatomical characters, which until proven otherwise can be called hereditary. Then we can see whether or not the area is a racial unit, and how its population and those of its subareas, if any, fit into the general human and specifically European racial scheme.

We are faced, therefore, with the following problems:

² See Coon, Garn, and Birdsell, 1950.

● 121

- a. What are the anatomical peculiarities of these Ghegs whom we have measured?
- b. To what extent are the constants which we have determined dependent on age?
- c. Has the function of the jaw, including manner and amount of chewing, any effect on the size and shape of the masticatory apparatus?
- d. Have differences in soil and hence nutri-

● 121 tion anything to do with body size and proportions?

e. Has the Gheg practice of cradling infants produced any effect on head and face form?

f. What is the racial position of our sample, once these last 4 potentially qualifying factors have been controlled?

In each of the next 5 chapters, one of these problems will be considered. $\frac{1}{\lambda}$

$\frac{1}{\lambda}$ [see cat. 116, pp. 58b-98e
-- Analyst]

AGE

- 121 THE dimension of time can never be neglected in studying the properties of bodies, including those of human beings. Time is the scale on which we grow to maturity and shrink into old age. In this particular study time sets us 3 problems: (1) what is the range of the series in terms of age groups, and how do the component tribal subseries vary in this respect; (2) in what way does its age distribution affect the comparability of this with other series; and (3) to what extent, if at all, do differences in age account for the intertribal differences in growth, form, pigment, and pilosity, discovered in the last chapter?

ACCURACY OF THE PRESENT DATA

- 561
*128 Probably not more than a dozen of the younger men whom I measured knew exactly how old they were. None of the older men did. The Gheg mountaineers work and play by families, and not by age grades. Nothing in their way of living makes a precise knowledge of age useful. Sometimes when I was measuring a group of 20 or 30 men, all from

Albania E61
 Balkan Peoples E13
 Serbs EF6

THE DURHAM COLLECTION

A 10

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Its present frontier was first decided by the Council of Ambassadors in 1913, but was held in suspense until 1921 when the Supreme Council sanctioned it.

A

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779

The population of Albania is 68% Moslem, 21% Eastern Orthodox and 11% Roman Catholic.

B

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Realising that the Balkan Peninsula has been disputed territory for centuries, with sovereignty alternating between Byzantines, Venetians, Slavs, Huns, Magyars, Turks and Austrians, it is not surprising that the different types of costume and decoration have intermingled, and so a difficult problem is presented when one has to deal with such a collection as this.

Y

A

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However, it has seemed best to divide the material into that from (1) the central and coastal area, which shows mainly Austrian and Italian influence, and (2) the southern section, with Albania, which was so largely influenced by Turkish rule, and where at the present time there are perhaps more Turkish costumes worn than in Turkey itself.

CHAPTER II.

Materials and their production.

Y

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The materials used in making and decorating the garments worn in the central, coastal and southern parts of Yugoslavia and Albania fall into two categories, home-produced, and those purchased in shops and markets, which are often imported goods.

The materials used in the south and Albania differ somewhat from those used in the other areas. The latter are dealt with first.

Y

A

462

Cloths.

Materials upon which embroidery is to be worked are usually made by the women themselves and are of two kinds, that made from flax and hemp, woven into linen ("platno") which is used for shirts, skirts for summer wear and headshaws or kerchiefs; and "sukno", made entirely of sheep's wool, hand spun and woven in the home on a simple, rather clumsy type of hand-loom. "The woollen material thus produced is used for the sleeveless wrap 'zubun', the short cloth coat with sleeves worn by younger women, and the long cloth coat worn in winter by women of all ages and districts." "The peasant men throughout Yugoslavia wear garments of this woollen material" (M.E.D.).

A

S

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That most important feature of most costumes, the apron, has homespun hemp for its warps and woollen yarn for weft. "Some of the thick woollen stuff, white in Albania and brown amongst the Serbs, of which men's clothes were made was beaten to a thick, hard felt in fulling mills worked by water power. Heavy hammers of walnut wood hammered the stuff for forty hours." (M.E.D.).

Imported cloths include calico for shirts and printed cotton for linings, apparently English, fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy for the jelek worn by middle-class women and also for some of the handsomer types of coats.